836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad [577] taste and a sign of perversion.

[554] No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" العار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind. Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power, or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The benediction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, therefore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.

In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic, namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk than those mentioned